1:St anford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

575 of people from East China into Southwest China during the war with Japan, the Ch'ing-pang organization was extended to the Southwest as well.

II. DISRUPTION OF THE TRADITIONAL SOCIAL STRUCTURE

178

Just as the scholar ideal and the family ideal helped to preserve the stability of the total social order of China, so did the disintegration of the traditional family system and the abolition of the imperial examination system for recruiting the ruling elite become contributing factors in the dislocation of the traditional social structure.

178 369 565 The traditional rural village community consisted of farm laborers at the bottom and landlords at the top. Peasant landowners and tenants constituted the bulk of the village population; village peddlers, merchants, and artisans were members of peasant families, most of whom owned land; the village gentry, that is to say, the local leaders, were mostly retired officials or educated members of landlords' or rich peasants' families.[10]

178 369 166 However, the growth of rural population without a comparable increase in arable land together with more opportunity for employment

10. Olga Lang, Chinese Family and Society, New Haven, Yale University Press, 1946, p. 68.

1

178 in the cities caused the migration of some peasants
369 to the urban centers. The continued high premium
16 placed on learning, practical or otherwise, induced the wealthier rural inhabitants to send their children to modern city schools which offered new opportunities. Thus, the cities became the centers from which the forces of change radiated into the surrounding countryside.

Some of the rural immigrants became permanent residents in the cities; others returned to their home villages. Among the permanent residents, some left their families in the country while others brought their immediate families (wives and children) to the cities. In either case, it meant the breaking up of family and clan relations. Industrial work and other city employment changed the outlook of these rural people; new professions such as modern medicine, law, engineering, and banking attracted the attention of those who would otherwise have been occupied
178 in the study of the Confucian Classics. This
871 was especially true after Confucian training had been found "impractical" and not in keeping with changing conditions. Education in the secondary schools and colleges, however inadequate and artificial it might seem, was designed for better citizenship.[11] Their curricula opened a new and different world, far more interesting

---

11. Hu Shih, The Chinese Renaissance (the Haskell Lectures, University of Chicago, 1933) Chicago, Univ. of Chicago Press, 1934. Teng and Fairbank, loc. cit.

D. Effects on Family Nature and Structure

596 178 In the relatively small area where these influences were felt, traditional family organization and the roles and functions dependent on it were forced to give way. With a part of the family temporarily or permanently in the city, the authority of the traditional family head was undermined. He was still needed at home to carry on the farm work, and so it was generally the daughters, the sons not needed for agriculture, and occasionally, the wives who entered the cities to seek part-time or full-time work. They sent home from the cities whatever part of their wages that could be spared from their own living needs. The family head thus controlled only their excess earnings and not their full income. He no longer directed the production of the family as a unit nor determined wholly every member's share in consumption. For at least part of the year, he could exert no direct control over the city-dwelling members of the family. With the possibility of an independent livelihood in the city, adult family members in nearby villages had an alternative to harsh treatment by the family head. This factor tended to have a moderating influence on paternalistic authoritarianism.

•369 596 178 562 The family in the rural areas adjacent to industrialized cities was also affected in other ways. Men of advanced years, particularly if they had a classical education or held official position, continued to be honored. However, their position of influence and authority was challenged by younger men with the personal qualities of dynamic leadership and success. Ancestor worship

369 continued to give a greater primacy to males in
596 the family, but the ability of daughters to earn
178 a wage enhanced their value to the family and
562 made their early marriage into another family less desirable. It should be noted, however, that women of farming and laboring families worked outside of the home only out of sheer economic necessity. Neither sex approved of female employment in the factory. Whenever possible, it was avoided or terminated. Among upper-class families, women with modern education began gradually to seek employment in the professions and to regard such work as a means of establishing permanent personal and economic independence.

The independent family in the modern city was most subject to change. Though the influence of the past remained strong, the city families tended toward the nuclear, democratic form. Thus, the old criteria of status based on sex, age, and generation were undermined. This tendency was strongest among the new clerical, managerial, and professional groups in the city. They came mostly from the old well-to-do merchant and gentry class which could afford modern education, sometimes abroad, for their children. Having a higher education, the younger members of this group were far more influenced than were the less literate lower class youth by such modern Western ideas as the right to individual happiness, the equality of the sexes, and the duty of the citizen to give his first loyalty to the interests of the nation.

596 185 and serious one." Liu admitted that the abolition of the feudal marriage system and the establishment of the new system was "a long term and difficult process in the ideological and social reform of the people." To accomplish this reform, he added, the regime would have to co-ordinate its efforts with the people's personal interests and levels of attainment, persuade the people patiently, and raise their level steadily. The process of implementing the Marriage Law, Liu concluded, would have to be made part of the regular tasks of the government and people's organizations at all levels and co-ordinated with the central tasks of production, construction and elections.[30] These recommendations have become the principles by which the government still seems to be guided in marriage and family reform.

596 185 369 In the cities where modern influence had prepared the people for acceptance of new marriage and family principles, the regime encountered a different kind of problem. Just before International Women's Day, March 8, 1955, an authoritative statement in the Communist press added a new note to the usual reference to lingering remnants of feudal obstruction and the long-term nature of family reform. The statement charged that bourgeois ideology had reached into marriage and family relationships. The bourgeois influences detected were love of luxury and disparagement of labor, "carelessness" in choosing marriage partners or the desire for new partners after marriage

30. Ibid., pp. 4-6.

596 and devotion to self- interest. They had re-
185 spectively given rise to the sins of marriage
369 based on money, "the belittlement of sexual relationships," and maltreatment, desertion, and irresponsibility toward parents and children.[31]

The nation's young people were evidently the most prone to this subversive influence. A campaign to guard youth against "bourgeois concepts" was launched in the large cities during the spring of 1955. In connection with the drive, the Communist press evidenced concern regarding romantic love, heart-break, unsolved marriage problems of workers in sparsely populated areas, and the attractions and diversions of a carefree social life in the cities. These things, the press warned, were subverting many young people from their primary duty of devoting their whole effort and attention to study and work in the national interest. The advice of the Communist editors, "to place love in a secondary position in one's life," is hardly likely to solve the problem.[32]

A different sort of problem confronted youth in the countryside. Apparently the possibility was not present there for youth to develop love and marriage attachments through the ideal and officially sanctioned method of mutual participation in production, indoctrination, and study. A 1955 report on Marriage Law implementation admitted that "in the extensive rural districts... the conditions for adequate communal life and avenues for social intercourse" are lacking.

---

31. SCMP, 1022, p. 4.

32. Ibid., pp. 15-18; 1052, pp. 25-33.

596 185 369 As a result, "most marriages are still being contracted after both parties were first introduced to each other by third parties." The report hastened to explain that as the bride and groom gave their previous agreement to the marriage it was to be regarded as a marriage of free will and not to be confused with the old and outlawed practice of arranged marriage.[33]

E. Replacement of the Family's Social, Economic and Political Role

596 575 467 A second step taken by the Communist regime to change radically the nature and function of the Chinese family was accomplished with the establishment of organizations to regiment every phase of human endeavor. The labor unions in the city, the peasant associations, mutual-aid teams, and co-operatives in the country became the center not only of economic life, but of social, political, and indoctrination activities as well. Unions were organized in the cities almost as they fell to the Communist armies, but the formation of comparable institutions in the countryside awaited the gradual process of land reform. Until it was completed in any area, no alternate organization to the family existed to assume its [582] socio-economic role. This fact seem to explain why the Communists during the spring of 1953 limited their Marriage Law campaign in the country side to those areas where land reform had been accomplished.

596 575 582 Special organizations were set up to train and absorb the energies of women and children

33. Ibid., 1002, p. 3.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF15~~ AF16

181 Despite the grim struggle for survival, the average villager tended to be cheerful, self-respecting, and possessed of a robust sense of humor. He went through life with a continuous concern for his own "face" or prestige among his fellows and with the strong determination and unceasing faith that, despite all, the fortunes of his family would steadily improve.

B. The Pattern of Urban Life

•369 Urban life, although it meant a different pattern of work, was closely akin to life in the villages. Town and city dwellers -- perhaps 20 per cent of China's population -- kept their ties with their native villages, returned there whenever possible and many saw commercial activity in the town only as a means to the acquisition of sufficient wealth to buy farming land and return to the village.[12] The town population, then, was mostly made up of artisans and peasants, plus a small number of landlords, retired officials, county functionaries, and established merchant families.

632 369 The county seats (hsien capitals) were the centers for tax collection and administration of

12. Cressey, Land of the 500 Million, pp. 18-19. The 1953 Communist census credits cities and towns (undefined) with 13.26 per cent of the Mainland population.

369 the surrounding farm-villages and also served
632 as market towns where the peasant might sell his crop and purchase the manufactured goods he could not produce.

511 Town life for the average artisan was as meager as for his relatives in the village. Long hours, hard work, low pay, few holidays wer the lot of most, and living conditions were generally poorer and more crowded than those in the villages. Proprietors of many shops required their employees to live on the premises, so that they seldom visited their families. The diet of the town dweller was as poor as that of the poor farmer -- mostly cereals, vegetables, and some condiments, and meat
527 and fruit on holidays only. Brief holidays were allowed at the New Year, the Ch'ing-ming Festival, the mid-Autumn festival, and the Dragon Boat festival. On these occasions, townspeople usually tried to return to their villages; if this was impossible they enjoyed such delicacies as they could afford and strolled the streets, perhaps visiting friends and attending seasonal fairs and theaters.

369 Life in the towns was, then, closely
361 linked with village life. But in the cities and provincial capitals, such as Kunming, Chungking, Chengtu, life in some respects has been greatly altered by the modernization that spread slowly from the

361 coastal to the inland cities. The streets are
369 sometimes paved, and schools, newspapers, motion pictures, and radio make the people more aware of the outside world than are their cousins in the towns and villages. In Shanghai and other modern cities, major industries built large dormitories for workers, labor unions and political clubs developed as new foci for society activity. World War II brought a measure of industrial life to the Southwest. Yet the living conditions grew worse as workers
161 moved into the cities. Crowding reached un-
361 believable proportions. The figures for Chengtu suggest the dimensions of this problem in all urban centers. Chengtu, with predominately one-storied buildings, had a population density of 50,000 per square mile as compared to 22,500 per square mile in New
[466] York City.[13] One survey suggests that workers in the newer industries were somewhat better off than workers in the traditional trades,[14] but their traditional holidays were shortened without, in most cases, the introduction of a
369 six-day week. In the crowded cities the festivals
527

13. Winfield, op. cit., p. 88. These figures would seem to be for the period 1945-47.

14. Lang, op. cit., pp. 88-89.

1:Stanford U; S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF15~~ AF16

369
527 of the agricultural year continued to determine the holidays (although national holidays were increasingly observed), and, like the town dwellers, city workers tried to return to their family villages for at least one of the
575 holidays. Another link to one's native place was the system of clubs composed of those city-dwellers who had a common provincial origin; the clubs operated hostels and sometimes made arrangements for mutual-aid. Secret societies provided another focus of social life, particularly in the towns and cities. Their rituals, passports, and secret signs of greeting were all subordinate to their basic aim, which was to provide members with security-through-association and a refuge against the hazards of a disintegrating and increasingly predatory society.

369 It will be noted that the ties of kinship and custom were strong, extending even into the large modern cities and the farm towns. The urban and rural ways of life tended increasingly to diverge, yet one of the strongest cohesive forces of all was the common set of attitudes and values which, even when change has been accounted for, held together all Chinese of village and town and city.

668 527 all public celebrations of the festival are made to serve the Communist purpose. It was reported that, in the coastal area, traditional merrymaking was combined "with strict vigilance and celebration of the Yikiangshan (I-chiang-shan) Island liberation." In Foochow, special exhibitions on the theme "Taiwan Must be Liberated" drew large crowds. In the Amoy area and along the Chekiang coast, people called on units of the armed forces in their neighborhood "to bring them gifts and thank them for their efforts in national defense." In Shanghai, 40,000 spectators watched military teams play football, and Red Army song and dance troupes performed at thirty factories.[33]

668 [653] 369 The cities have been cleaned up and enlarged, large sections of old city walls such as those of Chengtu have been destroyed, and building has apparently proceeded rapidly, although improvements in housing probably mainly affect the industrial workers, the favored class in the drive for industrialization.[34]

---

33. NCNA dispatch, Jan. 27, 1955, 976, Jan. 28, 1955, p. 15. In all such activities one should remember that the cadre is instigator and manager. We do not have details on activities in the Southwest. We would expect them to be similar in outline, less elaborate in form.

34. Rostow, op. cit., p. 160.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF15~~ AF16

[511] 668 369 Yet the Rostow study indicates that there has been no real increase in wages for the urban worker.[35] His diet remains poor, his work hours long. But since the Party is anxious to recruit from urban workers, he does have opportunity to rise in life through Party work. Many industrial workers probably do feel some sense of identification with the most rapidly expanding sector of the Chinese economy. This identification and the opportunities offered by the Party are probably slowly changing the goals of the urban worker. He may be less interested than he was once in returning to a plot of land in the country, where economic opportunities are increasingly restricted. He knows, after attending one Party meeting, that the peasantry is no longer the favored class in the Chinese economy.

The elite of the towns and cities are the functionaries of the government and Party. We know little of the pattern of their private lives. But, if the badge of the old Chinese bureaucratic elite was a leisurely and cultivated air, the badge of the new is a daily calendar of meetings, a full briefcase, and an air of purposeful, energetic activity. Their incomes permit their families somewhat easier

35. Ibid., pp. 160-61.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
~~AF16~~ AF16

668
369 life than that granted the rest of the urban population, but they are constantly disciplined, watched by their colleagues, obliged to meet work quotas, and forced to submit to continuous indoctrination and re-indoctrination. Party and government workers are urged to use the New Year holiday to plan their work for the year to come.

The bulk of the old middle class may have survived, but its activities have been increasingly restricted by government controls and the growth of government producing and marketing facilities. They are a tough and tenacious group, but their old comfortable life is already threatened and, as a class, they are scheduled for extinction.[36]

The growing cities now appear to be replacing the country as the goal of the ambitious. It is likely that, as urbanization and industrialization proceed, the cities rather than the farm villages will determine, as the Communists plan, the new mores and patterns of living for society as a whole.

---

36. Rostow, op. cit., pp. 162-64.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF 16 SW China AF16

In discussing certain attitudes and values we should bear in mind that the power of the old and the appeal of the new vary not according to regions but according to social groups. It was among the population of modern cities like Shanghai that the old values were first challenged by the pressures of modern problems, but among the peasantry and rural gentry, despite many discontents and tensions, the old ways still prevailed.[32] Intellectuals and members of the new industrial and commercial groups were the first to discard traditional attitudes and adopt Western values; among other groups this process was slower. These variations affect Communist tactics to the extent that different kinds of persuasion are used with different groups. But the final goal is adoption of the attitudes and values decreed by the Communist leadership.

A. Good and Bad

In traditional China the prevailing belief was that man was inherently good and that social harmful behavior occurred only when men lacked guidance or were placed in adverse circumstances. For example, if the ruler of the state or his officials or the father of the family failed to provide for the basic physical needs of individuals, their dependents were likely to rebel. Or if those in authority failed to provide instruction, particularly if they failed to set an example in conduct, then those subordinate to them would have no guideposts to the good and would fall into evil ways.

32. For example, as late as 1941-43, one anthropologist found in rural Yunan that the traditional value of hsiao (filial submission) was still,

562 184 Some women hold high posts in government, and there are "labor heroines" in all industries. Housewives of well-to-do families in larger cities may live in leisure. Those of families of modest means may have to accept employment, but as long as the work does not require strength, they do not resent it. The age-group differential asserts itself in the reaction of women to the new regime; older women who had learned to live in peace with the extended family system are likely to dread the Communist effort to reduce the extended family to the conjugal family; young women are more apt to feel favorably disposed toward the Peking regime.

562 369 184 A sharp difference in attitude is to be observed between the women in such urban centers as Chungking and Chengtu, and those in the vast frontier areas where little urbanization has taken place. City life, plus opportunity to receive education in new schools, had caused changes in attitudes among women in urban centers even before the Communist regime announced its policy with regard to women and their status in society. Such women are likely to expect much of their "emancipation" and resent the Communist effort to add them to the labor force. To them sustained Communist indoctrination may amount to boredom. In the outlying villages, women remain more strictly tradition-bound and are less prepared to accept the new roles the Communists have assigned them.

VI. MINORITY NATIONALITIES

563 184 Among the regions in China proper, the Southwest has the largest number of ethnic

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted]
AF16

474 668 leadership over the agricultural producers' co-operative organization before gradual collectivization began.

The following resolutions were adopted at the Conference:[61] (1) Party organization shall be based on territorial and production units, with emphasis on the development of more Party branches in the agricultural producers' co-operatives. (2) Collective work rather than individual achievement is to be stressed. (3) There is to be further expansion of Party indoctrination programs. (4) The county Party secretary's leadership and the Party's political role in the producers' co-operatives is to be strengthened.

The chief problems which the agricultural program of the Party faces are the need for cadre education, the lack of Party strength, and the peasant's sense of individuality and love of his own land.

369 668 D. Political Control in the City

The establishment and consolidation of

61. Summary report on the conference in New China Monthly, No. 4, April 1955, pp. 27-28.

1:Stanford U. S-4, 5 1956 AF16 SW China
[redacted]
AF16

369 Communist power in the cities followed the
668 same general course as in the rural areas. The Democratic Construction Movement, directed in particular at the urban population and the trade unions, and the violent Three-Anti and Five-Anti campaigns, directed at the Party itself, the government administration, and industrial and business circles of society, in effect, performed functions similar to those in the land reform in rural areas.

668 Communist power in the city is retained through the maintenance of a set of control organizations, extending from workers' trade unions to the students' federation.[62]

The Urban Inhabitants' Committee, composed of one-hundred to six-hundred families, is organized with the stated aim of contributing to the welfare of the residents. The basic unit is a family residing in or sharing a house with others. Under the committee are sub-committees representing

62. Regulation of committees, People's Daily, Dec. 31, 1954, p. 1-2. English text in Current Background, No. 310, Jan. 17, 1955.